

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 HA-05 CU-04 COME-00 ACDA-12
CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00
PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
/082 W

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O R 010610Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4818
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
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FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: CSCE OCON
SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE - DAILY HIGHLIGHTS, JANUARY 31

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SUMMARY: WHILE DRAFTING WORK CONTINUED TO STAGNATE,
PLENARY HEARD APPEALS FROM NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED AND
OTHER REPS FOR SERIOUS WORK TO PRODUCE MEANINGFUL
CONCLUDING DOCUMENT THAT WOULD BE BASIS ON WHICH SUCCESS
OR FAILURE OF MEETING WOULD BE JUDGED. PLENARY
SESSION, HOWEVER, WAS LIKE A PLEDGING CONFERENCE AT
WHICH EVERYONE GAVE PEP TALKS, BUT NO ONE PULLED OUT

CHECK BOOK. NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED REPS INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO PLAY ROLE OF HONEST BROKERS, BUT THEY GAVE NO DETAILS OF THEIR SPECIFIC PLANS. FOR TIME BEING AT LEAST, THEY APPEAR TO WISH TO HOLD BACK COMPROMISE PAPERS THEY HAVE PREPARED WHILE THEY SEEK TO DETERMINE IF SOVIETS WILL BE FORTHCOMING. ACCORDING TO TWO REPORTS, SOVIETS ARE INTERESTED IN SCHEME BUT DESIRE TO CONCENTRATE WORK AT HEADS OF DEL LEVEL AND NOT LET IT BE DIFFUSED INTO COMMITTEE/EXPERT STRUCTURE. ACCORDING TO ANOTHER REPORT, HOWEVER, SOVIET DEPUTY HEAD OF DEL (KONDRASHOV) TOLD DUTCH AMBASSADOR THAT SOVIETS WOULD BE POLITE TO NEUTRAL/ NON-ALIGNED BUT DO NOT INTEND TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY ON DRAFTS THEY EXPECT TO RECEIVE. END SUMMARY.

1. PLENARY -- FULL RANGE OF NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED REPS, WHO HAD REMAINED OUT OF JANUARY 27 EAST-WEST DEBATE, EXPRESSED CONCERN AT LACK OF DRAFTING PROGRESS AND APPEALED FOR SERIOUS NEGOTIATION TO ACHIEVE BALANCED, POLITICALLY SUBSTANTIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT THAT, THEY SAID, WOULD BE REGARDED BY GOVERNMENTS AND PUBLICS AS MAIN TEST OF WHETHER MEETING HAD BEEN SUCCESSFUL. THEY HINTED AT THEIR READINESS TO PLAY ROLE OF COMPROMISERS BUT GAVE NO CONCRETE DETAILS ON THEIR PLANS. THEY WERE JOINED IN THEIR APPEAL BY PORTUGUESE AND ROMANIAN REPS. SOVIET REP MADE FAIRLY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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MILD, CONCILIATORY SOUNDING STATEMENT THAT NEVERTHE- LESS EMPHASIZED NEED FOR "CERTAIN DELEGATIONS" TO ESCHEW POLEMICS AND EFFORTS TO USE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE. HE IMPLIED AN UNWILLING- NESS TO NEGOTIATE DIFFICULT ISSUES BY REPEATING LINE THAT IT WAS TIME TO CAST OUT PROPOSALS THAT WERE NOT ACCEPTABLE. HE SAID SOVIET DEL WOULD WORK AROUND CLOCK IF NECESSARY TO COMPLETE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT BY MID-FEBRUARY. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG SPOKE BRIEFLY RESTATING US DESIRE TO ACHIEVE MEANINGFUL CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AND, IN INDIRECT REFERENCE TO RECENT SOVIET NEGOTIATING TACTICS, URGED ALL DELEGATIONS TO REFRAIN FROM POLEMICAL ACTS AS WELL AS WORDS.

2. YUGOSLAV AND ROMANIAN REPS EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE THEIR DELS ATTACH TO CBMS AND INDIRECTLY CRITICIZED SOVIET STONEWALL IN THAT DRAFTING GROUP. BOTH REPS SAID CONCLUDING DOCUMENT COULD ONLY ACHIEVE CONSENSUS IF IT INCLUDED SOME SUBSTANTIVE CBM AGREEMENTS, NOT JUST DEFERRAL OF EVERYTHING TO POST-BELGRADE FORUM. FORMER SUGGESTED SOME CBM PROPOSALS COULD BE PUT OFF TO EXPERTS MEETING WHILE LATTER SAID NON-AGREED PROPOSALS

SHOULD BE DEALT WITH IN SPECIAL CONSULTATIONS PROPOSED
BY SOVIETS.

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
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INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
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3. BASKET ONE (PRINCIPLES) -- THIS GROUP REACHED,
PROVISIONALLY, ITS NADIR. SOVIET REP
STOOD AGAINST MEETING FOR MORE THAN TWO HOURS. INTER-
SPERSED WITH CHARGES THAT IRISH CHAIRMAN AND SECRETARIAT
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HAD NOT MADE TIMELY ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF HIS REQUESTS FOR FLOOR, HE BLOCKED CONSENSUS FIRST ON PROPOSAL THAT ROMANIAN SENTENCE ON NON-THREAT OR USE OF FORCE BE WRITTEN INTO NOTEBOOKS AT BEGINNING OF PREVIOUSLY AGREED LANGUAGE ON SWISS PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS EXPERTS MEETING, AND THEN ON PROCEDURAL SUMMATION BY CHAIRMAN THAT NO DELEGATION HAD OBJECTED TO TEXT BUT FORMAL RECORDING WAS NOT POSSIBLE AT PRESENT. SOVIET REP REPEATED JANUARY 25 DEMAND THAT ROMANIAN SENTENCE BE ACCEPTED ONLY IF DELS UNDERSTOOD THAT IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO INCLUDE ANY LANGUAGE IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT THAT HIGHLIGHTED ANY PRINCIPLE, I.E., ANY LANGUAGE ON HUMAN RIGHTS. US REP RESTATED EXPECTATION THAT HUMAN RIGHTS LANGUAGE WOULD HAVE TO BE INCLUDED BUT TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY WITH OTHER WESTERN REPS TO ACHIEVE CONSENSUS ON ROMANIAN LANGUAGE ON ITS OWN MERITS. AS HAS HAPPENED FAIRLY FREQUENTLY IN MEETING WHEN SOVIETS MOVE PARTICULARLY FAR INTO LEFT FIELD, THEY RECEIVED ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT FROM GDR AND CZECH DELS AND LUKEWARM OR NO VERBAL HELP FROM HUNGARIAN, POLISH AND BULGARIAN REPS.

4. BASKET TWO -- CONCEDING THAT BM/25 MIGHT BE VALID IN SUBSTANCE, SOVIETS NEVERTHELESS REJECTED THIS NEXT TO LAST REMAINING WESTERN PROPOSAL AS BEING TOO TECHNICAL AND FLIMSY FOR CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. US REP'S STATEMENT CHARACTERIZING WESTERN PROPOSALS AS REPRESENTING LEGITIMATE NEEDS AND CONCERNS AND EXPRESSING DISAPPOINTMENT WITH BLANKET DISMISSAL PROVOKED SHARP SOVIET RESPONSE ON "DISCRIMINATORY" US TRADE POLICY. CITING WESTERN REJECTION OF POLISH PROPOSAL, SOVIET REP STATED HIS DEL WOULD NOT ACCEPT BLAME FOR LACK OF PROGRESS NOR SUBMIT TO WESTERN PRESSURES TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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INCLUDE PROVISIONS IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT WHICH WOULD RESULT IN DISTORTED DESCRIPTION OF SITUATION IN TRADE AREA.

5. DRAFTING GROUP MOVED ON TO DISCUSSION OF ENERGY PROPOSALS. AUSTRIAN REP INTRODUCED AMENDED VERSION OF AUSTRIAN TEXT WHICH HAD BEEN CIRCULATED DECEMBER 13 (DETAILS SEPTTEL). SOVIET REP CIRCULATED TEXT ON ENERGY AS IT APPEARS IN BM/70 AND ALSO REFERRED TO SOVIET TEXT OF DECEMBER 13 (TEXT SEPTTEL). HE CHARACTERIZED SOVIET AND AUSTRIAN TEXTS AS COMPLEMENTARY, BUT MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE, STATING THE OPERATIVE SECOND PARAGRAPH OF

AUSTRIAN TEXT IS INADEQUATE. DISCUSSION OF ENERGY TEXTS
WILL CONTINUE.

6. BASKET THREE -- INFORMAL SESSION BEGAN WITH PRO-
CEDURAL DISAGREEMENT ON WHETHER CONTINUED DISCUSSION
OF LANGUAGE OR ARCHIVE PROPOSALS SHOULD LEAD AGENDA.
WHILE EASTERN REPS EVENTUALLY ALLOWED FIRST HALF OF
MEETING TO CONSIDER REVISED CANADIAN TEXT ON ARCHIVES,
THEY PERSISTED IN TOTAL OPPOSITION TO ITS SUBSTANCE.
SOVIET REP, BACKED BY GDR, INSISTED THAT CANADIAN
COMPROMISE TEXT CHANGED NOTHING AND THAT PROPOSAL WAS
ALREADY ENCOMPASSED BY FINAL ACT LANGUAGE AND TOO
TECHNICAL FOR INCLUSION IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. DESPITE
INTERVENTIONS FROM US AND OTHER WESTERN REPS POINTING
OUT THAT PROPOSAL SOUGHT TO ENHANCE IMPLEMENTATION AND
CLARIFY FINAL ACT LANGUAGE RATHER THAN OPEN RESTRICTED
ARCHIVES AS SOME EASTERN REPS SEEMED TO FEAR, SOVIETS
MAINTAINED OBJECTIONS AND OFFERED NO ALTERNATIVE TEXT,
OTHER THAN VERBATIM REPETITION OF FINAL ACT, FROM WHICH
TO WORK. DISCUSSION OF PROPOSAL ON LESS WIDELY-SPREAD
LANGUAGES ALSO CONTINUED STALEMATED BY EASTERN
INSISTENCE ON LANGUAGE GOING BEYOND COMPETENCE OF SOME
WESTERN DELEGATIONS FOR PROMOTING UNIVERSITY AND OTHER
PROGRAMS. SESSION ADJOURNED WITH NO AGREEMENT ON
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ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE FOR NOTEBOOKS BUT UNDERSTANDING
THAT FURTHER EFFORTS ON BOTH ARCHIVE AND LANGUAGE
PROPOSALS WOULD BE MADE FEBRUARY 1 TOGETHER WITH
CONSIDERATION OF POLISH TEXT ON EDUCATION FOR PEACE.

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7. FOLLOW-UP -- DRAFTING GROUP AT LONG LAST WAS ABLE
TO AGREE TO WRITE INTO NOTEBOOK HALF OF BEGINNING
SENTENCE OF FOLLOW-UP SECTION OF CONCLUDING DOCUMENT,
ON BASIS OF NEWEST (BUT VERY SIMILAR) DANISH WORKING
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PAPER TABLED TODAY (TEXT BY SEPTTEL). TEXT IS AS
FOLLOWS: BEGIN TEXT:

IN CONFORMITY WITH THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF
THE FINAL ACT AND WITH THEIR RESOLVE TO CONTINUE/
CONCERNING THE CONTINUATION OF THE MULTILATERAL PROCESS
INITIATED BY THE CSCE, . . . END TEXT.
SLASH WAS INSERTED BETWEEN "AND WITH THEIR RESOLVE TO
CONTINUE" AND "CONCERNING THE CONTINUATION OF" AT
INSISTENCE OF SOVIET REP WHO ASSERTEDLY FOR PURELY
STYLISTIC REASONS OBJECTED TO REPETITION OF PHRASE
CONTAINING "RESOLVE TO CONTINUE" IF IT SHOULD EVENTUALLY
APPEAR EARLIER IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. AGREEMENT IS
NEAR ON SECOND HALF OF SENTENCE CONTAINING CONTROVERSIAL
REFERENCE TO PERIODICITY. ROMANIAN REP NOW ACCEPTS
PHRASE "SUCCESSIVE MEETINGS" AND IS WILLING TO PUT
DIFFERING FORMULATIONS, "AT APPROPRIATE" AND "AT MORE
OR LESS REGULAR" INTERVALS IN BRACKETS.

8. EFFORTS TO BEGIN DRAFTING ON BASIS OF SECOND PARA OF DANISH PROPOSAL, DEALING WITH AGENDA AND MODALITIES OF MADRID MEETING, WERE BLOCKED BY SOVIET REP WHO ADAMANTLY REPEATED FAMILIAR ARGUMENT THAT ONLY NEXT PREPARATORY MEETING CAN DECIDE ON THESE MATTERS. IN JUSTIFICATION HE OBSERVED THAT ITEM 5 OF YELLOW BOOK AGENDA TAKEN TOGETHER WITH CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT OF AUGUST 5, 1977 SPECIFICALLY EMPOWERS BELGRADE MEETING TO DECIDE ONLY ON DATE AND PLACE OF NEXT SIMILAR MEETING AND REFERS ONLY TO "DEFINITION", NOT DETERMINATION OF OTHER MODALITIES.

9. ROMANIAN REP SUPPORTED ENTIRE REVISED DANISH PROPOSAL EXCEPT FOR BRACKETED SENTENCE IN 1ST PARA AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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INDICATED THAT AT NEXT SESSION HIS DEL WOULD TABLE TEXTS OF 3 ADDITIONAL PARAGRAPHS, TO SUPPLEMENT DANISH PROPOSAL, DEALING WITH EXPERTS GROUPS, ROLE OF ECE AND UNESCO AND PROVISION WHICH WOULD GOVERN ALL ASPECTS OF FURTHER FOLLOW-UP.
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